

Angels and Demons in the Book of *Jubilees*

JACQUES VAN RUITEN, GRONINGEN

Introduction

The book of *Jubilees* is presented as a revelation which Moses receives at Mount Sinai.¹ It actually consists of a rewriting and interpretation of the biblical narrative from the creation until the arrival of the children of Israel at Mount Sinai. Although the text of *Jubilees* is guided to a large extent by the biblical books of Genesis and Exodus as far as content and sequence are concerned, one should acknowledge that other sources and traditions are also incorporated in the book. One can point to the addition of material originating from the Enochic traditions (4:15-26; 5:1-12; 7:20-39; 10:1-17),² the *Aramaic Document of Levi* (e.g., *Jub.* 31-32),³ and 4Q*Visions of Amram* (*Jub.* 46).⁴ Some scholars opt for a common source for 1 *Enoch*, *Jubilees* and some Qumran texts (the so-called *Book of*

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- 1 According to both external and internal evidence, the book of *Jubilees* would have been written in the middle of the second century B.C.E. Cf. Berger, *Buch* 298-300; Charles, *Book* lviii-lxvi; Davenport, *Eschatology*, 10-18; Nickelsburg, *Literature* 78; VanderKam, *Studies* 214-285.
 - 2 See especially VanderKam, *Enoch Traditions*. This work influenced VanderKam's *Growth* 179-188, and formed the basis of a chapter in VanderKam, *Man* 110-121. See also some of his predecessors: Charles, *Book* xlv, 36-39, 43-44; Grélot, *La légende* 5-26, 181-210; Milik, *Book of Enoch*. VanderKam is followed by, e.g., Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 71-76.
 - 3 Grélot and others opt for a dependency of *Jubilees* on the Testament of Levi. See Grélot, *Ancien* 253-263 (esp. 255); Grélot, *Livre* 109-131. So also, e.g., Stone, *Figures* 575-586. See also Grélot, *Cents* 559-570; Puech, *Qumrân* 4.22, 285-286; Drawnel, *Wisdom* 63-75; Greenfield / Stone / Eshel, *Levi Document* 19-22; De Jonge, *Testament* 367-385 (esp. 373-376) (reprinted in *Jewish Eschatology* 244-262). According to Kugler, a so-called "Levi-apocryphon" was the source for both the Aramaic Levi Document and *Jubilees*; cf. Kugler, *Patriarch* 138. According to Becker both the Aramaic Levi Document and *Jubilees* go back to common oral traditions; cf. Becker, *Untersuchungen* 86.
 - 4 Cf. Milik, 4Q *Visions* 77-97 (esp. 97); Puech, *Qumrân* 4.22, 285-286, 322-324; Halpern-Amaru, *Fathers* 135-152 (esp. 146-152).

Noah),⁵ but others speak about the incorporation of other traditions within the rendering and explanation of the biblical text, or about a fusion and reconciliation of different Jewish streams in the 2nd century B.C.E.

As far as angels are concerned, the author follows to a certain extent the biblical text. However, he goes beyond the biblical text with his more elaborate angelology, in which the influence of other sources and traditions is also apparent. According to *Jubilees*, there are both good and evil angels. Whereas humans live on earth, the good angels live together with God in heaven. The demons and the angels who sinned are punished in the depths of the earth.⁶ However, angels and demons can also be active on earth. God sent some angels on earthly missions, and some of the demons are allowed to serve their leader, prince Mastema, on earth.

In this paper, I would like to go into the creation of angels on the first day of creation, and into their activities (praising God, keeping sabbath and festivals). I will then deal with the angel of the presence, the most prominent angelic character in the book. Subsequently, I will pay attention to the watchers, angels who were sent by God on a positive mission to earth, but who sinned with the daughters of men and were punished and bound in the depths of the earth. Finally, I will deal with the spirits of their offspring, the demons, who remain after the flood, and who are in the service of their leader, the prince of Mastema.

The Creation of Angels on the First Day of Creation

In *Jubilees*, the creation of angels occurs as the fourth work of creation on the first day (2:2-3).⁷

- 2:2a For on the first day he created the heavens that are above,
and the earth, and the waters,
- 2b and all the spirits who serve before him, namely:⁸
- 2c The angels of the presence;

5 See, e.g., García Martínez, Qumran 1-44; Stone, Book(s) 4-23. Others even consider *Jubilees* as an Enochic document, in which the so-called Zadokite Torah (i.e., Genesis and Exodus) was incorporated and digested in the Enochic revelation. See Boccacini, Essene Hypothesis 86-98. See also Sacchi, Libro 179-411.

6 For the division of reality in three areas, see Dimant, מַלְאָכִים 97-118; a summary of Dimant's article in VanderKam, Angel 378-380.

7 For the following, see also Van Ruiten, History, 20-27.

8 The Ethiopic reading is *wa* ("and"). However, the meaning of *wa* could be "namely." Cf. VanderKam, Studies II 7.

- the angels of holiness;
 the angels of the spirits of fire;
 the angels of the spirits of the winds;
 the angels of the spirits of the clouds, of darkness, snow,⁹
 hail, and frost;
 the angels of the sounds, the thunders, and the lightnings;
 and the angels of the spirits of cold and heat, of winter,
 spring, autumn, and summer;
- 2d and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens, on earth, and in every (place).
- 2e (There were also) the depths, darkness and light, dawn and evening which he prepared through the knowledge of his mind.
- 3a Then we saw his works
- 3b and blessed him.
- 3c We offered praise before him regarding all his works
- 3d because he had made seven great works on the first day.

This text, in which the creation of angels takes a prominent position, can be considered a rewriting of Gen 1:1-5. It is striking that the author of *Jubilees* uses Gen 1:1-2 together with Gen 1:3-5 as a description of the first day of creation.¹⁰ It is unthinkable for *Jubilees* that something else could have preceded this first day. Nothing but God existed before the creation.¹¹ The number of created works on the first day is seven (*Jub.* 2:3d). Most probably the following items were in the author's mind: the heavens, the earth, the waters, the spirits, the depths, the darkness, and the light.¹² He arrives at these items because he considers not only the heavens and the earth as objects of the verb ברא (Gen 1:1), but also the

9 The Ethiopic reading is *kwʾllu* ("all"). The Greek version preserved in Epiphanius has "snow." For the emendation of "all" into "snow" cf. Charles, *Mashafa kufale* 5 n. 44; Charles, Book 13; VanderKam, *Studies* II 7. Berger, Buch 323 n. k, preferred the reading of mss. 9, 38: "of all darkness," instead of "of darkness, of all."

10 Also in 4 *Ezra* 6:38-40; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.27. Gen 1:1-2 is treated as part of the first day of creation. Cf. also *Sibylline Oracles* 3:20. In Genesis, 1:1-2 is not part of the framework of the first six days of creation, which consists of a sequence of sections, each of which is governed by the divine command and its execution.

11 Cf. VanderKam, *Genesis* 306.

12 Compare Charles, Book 11; Testuz, *Idées* 19; Steck, *Aufnahme* 167; VanderKam, *Genesis* 306. Less probably, Littmann mentions heaven, earth, waters, angels of the service, angels of the natural phenomena, angels of the spirits of the seasons, angels of the spirits of light and darkness. Cf. Littmann, *Buch* 31-119. At first sight, it is not clear why the "dawn" and the "evening" (cf. 2:2e) are not counted among the created items. If they had been, this would have brought the total of created objects on the first day up to nine. The evening is probably considered part of darkness, while the dawn is considered part of light.

items mentioned in Gen 1:2. The sentences of Gen 1:2bc were not seen as independent nominal clauses, but were read as object phrases dependent on the verb בָּרָא. The author of *Jubilees* probably read Gen 1:1-2 as follows:

“On the first (day) God created the heavens, and the earth (...), and darkness (upon the face of) the depth, and the spirit of (the) Elohim (which was moving over the face of) the waters.”

This means that Gen 1:1-2 contains the first six works of creation: 1. heavens, 2. earth, 3. darkness, 4. depth, 5. spirit of Elohim, 6. waters. According to the author of *Jubilees*, they were made in pairs: heavens/earth, darkness/depth, spirit/waters. However, he made some rearrangement of the objects of creation, and he elaborated on the “spirit of (the) Elohim.” In his rewriting, he maintains the position of the first pair (2:2a: heavens/earth). He changes, however, the order of the second and third pairs, as well as the internal position of the objects (i.e., waters/spirit, depth/darkness). This rearrangement was made because of logical considerations. It is because “darkness” was created upon the face of the “depth” (Gen 1:2b), that the “depth” had to be created *before* the “darkness.” Because “the spirit of Elohim” was created moving over the face of the “waters,” the “waters” had to be created *before* the “spirit.”

Very striking is the mention of the creation of angels in *Jubilees*. It occurs as the fourth work of creation on the first day, and it therefore takes the central position.¹³ The angels are mentioned in several places in the Bible, but nothing is said about their creation. Many ancient interpreters, therefore, found it necessary to speak about their creation sometime during the first six days.¹⁴ At first sight, there seems to be no counterpart to this creation in Genesis. However, according to *Jubilees*, the angels were created on the *first* day of creation. The textual clue for this interpretation can be found in Gen 1:2, which speaks about the “spirit of God” (רוח אלהים) *Jubilees* reads this phrase as an object clause

13 Compare VanderKam, Genesis 306.

14 See, e.g., Sir 16:26-30; 11Q5, XXVI (“Hymn to the Creator”); 2 En 29:3 (on the second day); Tg Ps-J Gen 1:26 (on the second day); Gen r 1:3 (on the fifth day); PRE 4 (on the second day); cf. also Shepherd of Hermas, *Vision* 4:1. There are some indications in the Bible that the angels were created in the first week of creation. Cf. Kugel, Bible 58-59. Gen 2:1 states that the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their hosts (צבאם). The phrase “hosts of heaven” could be used in connection with angels (e.g., 1 Kings 22:19). One could interpret Gen 2:1 as indicating that “the host of heaven,” i.e. the angels, was created before the first Sabbath. In a context that refers to the creation of the world, the angels are also mentioned in Ps 104:4 (“[God] ... who makes the winds his angels, fire and flame his servants”) and in Job 38:7 (“... the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy”).

of the verb בָּרָא (Gen 1:1): “God created the heavens ... and the spirit of *Elohim*.”¹⁵ The word אֱלֹהִים (*Elohim*) is usually translated here as “God.” The word could also mean (foreign) gods. In 4:21 (“He was, moreover, with God’s angels”) the author of *Jubilees* understands the *Elohim* (אֱלֹהִים) of Gen 5:22, 24 (“Enoch walked with God”) as a reference to his stay with the angels.¹⁶ Also in 2:2, he shows that he understands *Elohim* (of Gen 1:2) as meaning “angels.”¹⁷ Seven kinds of angels are enumerated, which coincides with the seven items created on the first day. They seem to be ordered in a hierarchical way. There are two leading groups (the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness), whereas the others are in charge of different aspects of God’s creation. Those angels who are connected with cosmic phenomena do not occur elsewhere in *Jubilees*. The two great kinds of angels, however, are prominent in the rest of *Jubilees*, which is presented as an angelic discourse. These angels are described in anthropological terms. They speak with people, one of them teaches Abram to speak Hebrew (12:27), and only these two kinds are created circumcised (15:27-28).

Angels Praise and Bless God

The first activity of the angels is praising and blessing God. The author of *Jubilees* achieves this by replacing the formula of divine approval (Gen 1:4a: “And God saw that the light was good”) with the approval of the angels (2:3a-c: “Then we saw his works and blessed him. We offered praise before him regarding all his works”). The author is influenced here by Job 38:7, where the angels praise God’s work of creation.¹⁸ Moreover, *Jubilees* reflects the influence of another, non-biblical work – the Qumran “Hymn to the Creator” (11Q5, XXVI = 11QPs^a XXVI).¹⁹ This hymn is regarded mainly as a paraphrase of Jer 51:13, 16

15 Several exegetes have pointed to the word “spirit” (רוּחַ) as the textual clue. Compare Epstein, *Livre* 84-85; Charles, *Book* 11 (note), Steck, *Aufnahme* 157 n. 14. More precisely, it is the phrase רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים usually translated as “the spirit of God” that serves as the pretext for the mention of the angels. Compare also VanderKam, *Genesis* 306, although he does not explain why the phrase רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים is the textual clue.

16 Cf. VanderKam, *Man* 115.

17 The LXX sometimes translates אֱלֹהִים by ἄγγελοι (“angels”): e.g., LXX Ps 8:6; 96:7; 138:1.

18 Job 38:4a, 7: “Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth? ... when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?” Cf. VanderKam, *Genesis* 310.

19 The text of the “Hymn of the Creator” was published by Sanders, *Psalms* 89-91. Cf. García Martínez / Tigchelaar / Van der Woude, *Discoveries* pls. IV-V.

(= 10:13) with some rearrangement. It shows also some influence from Ps 149-150.²⁰ The influence of this hymn on *Jubilees* is restricted to lines 11-12, which run parallel to 2:2e-3c:

11Q5, XXVI:11b-12 (= 11QPs ^a): Hymn to the Creator	4Q 216, V:10-11 (=Jub. 2:2e-3c)
11b HE SEPARATED <u>light</u> FROM <u>dark-</u> <u>ness</u> ,	2e <u>darkness</u> , <u>light</u> AND <u>dawn</u> , ²¹ AND EVENING WHICH
11c he prepared the <u>dawn</u> through the knowledge of his mind	he prepared through the knowl- edge of his mind. ²²
12a Then <i>all angels</i> saw <i>him</i> and <i>sang</i>	3a Then <i>we</i> saw <i>his works</i> 3b and <i>blessed</i> HIM.
12b FOR HE SHOWED THEM WHAT THEY HAD NOT KNOWN.	3c <i>We offered praise</i> BEFORE HIM RE- GARDING ALL HIS WORKS.

The similarities between the two texts are striking. Firstly, I would point to the mention of “light” and “darkness” in 11Q5,XXVI:11b and Jub. 2:2e, in reversed order. Secondly, in both texts there is the phrase “he prepared through the knowledge of his mind” (11Q5,XXVI:11c; Jub. 2:2e).²³ There is, of course, a difference in the object of the verb “to prepare.” In 11Q5 it is only “the dawn” that is prepared, in *Jubilees* it is “darkness, light, dawn, and evening.” Thirdly, the verb “to see” occurs in both texts. The subject in 11Q5, XXVI:12a is “all the angels,” in Jub. 2:3a it is the first-person plural (“we”) because it is the speech of an angel. The object of seeing is different in the two texts, in the hymn it is “him,” in *Jubilees* it is “his works.” Note, however, that the hymn continues with “... he showed them what they had not known.” Finally, it is possible that the phrases “we blessed him ... we offered praise” (Jub. 2:3b-c) reflect the angels’ outburst in 11Q5, XXVI:12a (“and sang”).²⁴

20 For an analysis of the “Hymn of the Creator,” see Skehan, Complex 195-205; Skehan, *Jubilees* 343-347.

21 In the ordering of the Hebrew text of Qumran the last two items are “dawn and [light]” (4Q216, 5:10).

22 The Hebrew text of Qumran reads “through his [know]ledge” (4Q216, 5:10). VanderKam mentions the fact that Milik proposed reconstructing “through his wisdom”. VanderKam, Genesis 309; cf. VanderKam / Milik, *Jubilees* 16.

23 If Milik is right in his reconstruction of the Hebrew of 4Q216, 5:10: “which he prepared through his wisdom,” then *Jubilees* could reflect 11Q5, XXVI:14 (“[he] who prepared the world with his wisdom.” It is then also possible that the self-reference of wisdom in a creation context in Prov 8:22 has influenced Jub. 2:2e. Cf. VanderKam, Genesis 309.

24 Compare Skehan, *Jubilees* 346. Skehan states that both verbs in *Jubilees* are an explicitation of the angels’ outburst in the hymn.

Cultic Activities of Angels

The angels are also involved in other activities. In heaven, the sabbath is kept, the festival of weeks is celebrated, and the angels are circumcised. By keeping these commandments, the angels keep the laws that are put in relation to the covenant between Israel and God. In *Jubilees*, there is a correlation between cultic practice in heaven and on earth.²⁵

The sabbath observance is of crucial importance for *Jubilees*, and it is referred to in the beginning and at the end of the book (1:14; 2:17-33; 50:6-13). The practice of keeping the sabbath is not only an *imitatio dei* (cf. 2:1: "And he (= the Lord God) kept sabbath on the seventh day, and sanctified it for all ages"), but also an *imitatio angelorum*. In the description of the sabbath of the creation (2:17-24), which contains several elements deviating from the principal basic text (Gen 2:1-3), it recounts the giving of the sabbath to the two great kinds of angels (2:17-18):

- 2:17a He gave us the sabbath day as a great sign
- 17b so that we should perform work for six days
- 17c and that we should keep sabbath from all work on the seventh day.
- 18 He told us – all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness (these two great kinds) – to keep sabbath with him in heaven and on earth.

Gen 2:2b, 3a states that God kept sabbath on the seventh day. In the Ethiopic text of 2:17, the sabbath of God seems to be pushed into the background.²⁶ Instead it says that the sabbath day is given to the higher angels. Note, however, 2:18, where it says that these angels should keep sabbath "with him." In the Hebrew fragments of Qumran, it says explicitly that God rested on the sabbath day. The text of 4Q216, 7:6 reads אשר שבת בן ("on which he kept sabbath").²⁷ The formulation comes close to Gen 2:2b (וישבת ביום השביעי) and Gen 2:3a (שבת בו), although it is not identical with either of these phrases.²⁸ *Jubilees* draws a parallel between Israel and the angels. Just as the angels keep sabbath with God, so Israel keeps sabbath with the angels. Israel is the only nation

25 For the synchronisation of cultic practices on earth as in heaven, see Scott, *Earth* 1-15. See also Ego, *Zeit* 207-219.

26 Steck, *Aufnahme* 161.

27 VanderKam / Milik, *Jubilees* 19.

28 VanderKam / Milik, *Jubilees* 21. The commandment in relation to the sabbath in Exod 20:11 uses the verb נוח for God on the seventh day. Cf. Brooke, *Exegetical Strategies* 42-43. Note, however, that also Exod 31:17 speaks about the divine rest. It uses the phrase שבת וינפש.

permitted to do so (2:31), so they will be holy and blessed throughout all times like the angels (2:28).

The rainbow in the clouds was the sign of the covenant immediately after the flood. The covenant, however, is eternal, because it also applies to later generations. Therefore, the Israelites have to renew the covenant each year at the festival of weeks (6:17). In this way, the festival of weeks in fact becomes the sign of the covenant. What is fascinating to read is that the festival had already been celebrated *in heaven* since the time of creation:

- 6:17a For this reason it has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets
- b that they should celebrate the festival of weeks during this month – once a year – to renew the covenant each and every year.
- 18a This entire festival had been celebrated in heaven from the time of creation until the lifetime of Noah – for 26 jubilees and five weeks of years.
- b Then Noah and his sons kept it for seven jubilees and one week of years until Noah's death.

Also circumcision is initiated in the same sequence as the sabbath and the festival of weeks: first the angels, then Israel. It is also a sign of Israel's election:

- 15:25a This law is (valid) for all history forever.
- b There is no circumcising of days, nor omitting any day of the eight days
- c because it is an eternal ordinance ordained
- d and written on the heavenly tablets.
- 26a Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the people of the pact which the Lord made with Abraham
- b but to the people (meant for) destruction.
- c Moreover, there is no sign on him that he belongs to the Lord,
- d but (he is meant) for destruction, for being destroyed from the earth, and for being uprooted from the earth
- e because he has violated the covenant of the Lord our God.
- 27a For this is what the nature of all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness was like from the day of their creation.
- b In front of the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness he sanctified Israel to be with him and his holy angels.

Israel is sanctified by the identification as God's holy people in the flesh. Just as the heavenly angels, who apparently have male sexual organs, belong to a different order of being from the earthly creation, so Israel belongs to a different order of being from the rest of humanity.²⁹ Israel has to keep this sign of the covenant, or otherwise it will be uprooted from the earth (15:28). Israelites who are not circumcised will become like the gentile nations who are ruled by the spirits that let them astray (15:31). Over Israel alone he made no angel or spirit rule. Israel is ruled by God directly, "he will guard them and require them for himself from his angels, his spirits, and everyone, and all his powers" (15:32).

The same theme of cultic service on earth as in heaven occurs again in the blessing of Isaac on his deathbed for Levi and Judah (31:13-20): "Serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones" (31:14). Levi and his descendants were elected from all humanity, including Israel, to serve as priests in the earthly temple and to do so in correspondence with the heavenly priests, the angels, who serve before God in heaven.³⁰

The Angels of the Presence

In the list of created angels (2:2-3), the angels of the presence appear as the first kind. They seem therefore to serve in the highest heaven. Also, the title probably indicates that these angels could enter into the very presence of God himself.³¹ One of the angels of the presence dictates the contents of *Jubilees* 2-50 to Moses: "Dictate to Moses (starting) from the beginning of the creation until the time when my temple is built among them throughout the ages of eternity" (1:27). In 1:29, the angel of the presence is described as "going along in front of the Israelite camp." He took the tablets from which he dictated on God's orders (2:1). The book itself claims to be part of the revelation granted to Moses on Mount Sinai. God orders the angel to dictate the course of events that have taken place, which is written on the heavenly tablets, to Moses, who in turn is entrusted with the task of bringing and explaining the commandments and history of these heavenly tablets to Israel. This is a very strong claim for authority. God commands the angel of the presence (who is very close to him) to read the words to Moses from the

29 Hayes, *Impurities* 75; Scott, *Earth* 4.

30 Scott, *Earth* 4.

31 Cf. VanderKam, *Angel* 382.

heavenly tablets. The book presents itself as being inspired and reliable: God, the tablets, the angel and Moses.³²

The conception of the angel of the presence who speaks in God's name is possibly derived from exegesis of the expression מלאך פניו in Isa 63:9.³³ Moreover, the angel who accompanied the Israelites on their journey in the wilderness possibly influenced the shape of the angel of the presence. See especially Exod 14:19 ("Then the angel of God who went before the host of Israel moved and went behind them") and Exod 23:20-23 ("Behold, I send an angel before you, to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place which I have prepared. Give heed to him and hearken to his voice, do not rebel against him, for he will not pardon your transgression; for my name is in him. But if you hearken attentively to his voice and do all that I say, then I will be an enemy to your enemies and an adversary to your adversaries. When my angel goes before you, and brings you ...").³⁴ The angel of God seems to be an extension of God's personality.³⁵ In the book of *Jubilees*, the angel of the presence claims for himself what are words or deeds of God in Genesis and Exodus (cf. 6:19, 22; 12:22; 30:12; 48:4, 13).³⁶ In the book of *Jubilees*, the prominent position of the angel of the presence is in line with the removal of almost all of God's direct contact with the world. He prefers to act and communicate through mediators.³⁷

The Watchers and Their Offspring

Some angels were sent by God on a mission to earth. They are called the watchers.³⁸ According to *Jubilees*, God sent them in the days of Jared (4:15). The author is making a pun here by which the name "Jared" is related to the verb ירד ("to descend"):

32 Cf. Najman, Interpretation 379-410; Najman, Sinai 41-69.

33 Cf. Fischer, Jahwe 10; VanderKam, Angel 383.

34 See also Exod 32:34 ("Behold, my angel shall go before you"); 33:2 ("And I will send an angel before you"). Compare Num 20:16 ("When we cried to the Lord, he heard our voice, and sent an angel and brought us forth out of Egypt") with Deut 26:7-8 ("Then we cried to the Lord the God of our fathers, and the Lord heard our voice, and saw our affliction, our toil, and our oppression; and the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt ..."); Mal 3:1.

35 Fossum, Name 86; VanderKam, Angel 386-387.

36 VanderKam, Angel 390-392.

37 VanderKam, Angel 392-393.

38 For the following, see also Van Ruiten, History 181-197.

- 15a During the second week of the tenth jubilee Malalael married Dinah, the daughter of Barakiel, the daughter of his father's brother.
- b She gave birth to a son for him in the third week, in its sixth year.
- c He named him Jared,
- d because during his lifetime the angels of the Lord who were called watchers descended to earth to teach mankind
- e And to do what is just and upright upon the earth.

The author of *Jubilees* is obviously referring to the story of the watchers descending from heaven. This motif occurs most clearly in the *Book of Watchers* (1En 6:6; cf. 86:1). However, the reason for the watchers' descent to earth is, according to *Jubilees*, quite different from the reason given in 1 *Enoch*. According to 4:15, they came "to teach mankind and to do what is just and upright upon the earth." The original reason was thus a positive one. This is confirmed by 5:6: "... his angels whom he (= the Lord) had sent to earth ..." It is only after they arrive on earth that they go astray; See 4:22: "He testified to the watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men because they had begun to mix with earthly women so that they became defiled."

The negative side of the watchers is described in 5:1-19, an elaboration of Gen 6:1-4. In *Jubilees*, the "sons of God" of Gen 6:2, 4 are interpreted as "angels of God." This reflects the oldest interpretation of this text.³⁹ It occurs in 1En 6-11 (first half of the second century B.C.E.),⁴⁰ but it originated long before then.⁴¹ The oldest reading of LXX is probably "sons of God." Later in the history of the manuscripts of the LXX it was altered to the "angels of God" in Gen 6:2.⁴² Later still, the "sons of God" was interpreted as humans wielding power, and, finally, as righteous men, the Sethites.⁴³

39 See Alexander, Targumim 60-71; Salvesen, Symmachus 31.

40 The interpretation "angels" is supposed in the whole text of 1En 6-11, but see especially 1En 6:2 ("And the angels, the sons of heaven") which is a rewriting of Gen 6:2.

41 The rendering "angels" occurs also in Philo (*De Gigantibus* 2:6), Josephus (*Ant.* 1.73), and *Testament of Reuben* 5:7.

42 See Alexander, Targumim 16. Harl takes it the other way around. According to her, "sons of God" is a return to the Hebrew text. The Greek text originally read "angels of God" which avoids a shocking anthropomorphism. See Harl, *Genèse* 125.

43 The reaction against the rendering "angels" was first expressed by R. Simeon b. Johai (around 150 C.E.) in *Gen R* 26:5. He translates it as "son of the nobles" and cursed anyone who called them "the sons of God". Cf. Alexander, Targumim 61; Salvesen, Symmachus 31.

The intercourse of the angels with the daughters of men results in the birth of giants and the rise of wickedness on earth (5:1-3). This is followed by the pronouncement of judgement (5:4-8), first on people and all flesh (5:4) together with the mention of the rescue of Noah (5:5), then on the angels (*Jub* 5:6) and finally on the giants, the offspring of the angels (5:7-8). The pronouncement is followed by the execution of judgement (5:9-20). The above groups are mentioned in reverse order. First the giants (5:9), then the angels (5:10-11), then the decision to rescue Noah is mentioned (5:19) and finally the decision to destroy everything (5:20).

Gen 6:4 describes the (natural) intercourse of the sons of God with the daughters of men as being followed by the birth of mighty men (הַגִּבּוֹרִים) who were appreciated ("the men of renown") because they were born to fight against the נַפְלִים. These *Nephilim* can be interpreted as "giants" because of Num 13:33 ("And there we saw the Nephilim [the sons of Arak, who come from the Nephilim]; and we seemed to ourselves like grasshoppers, and so we seemed to them").⁴⁴ They were already on earth and were a danger for men.⁴⁵ However, many of the ancient versions identify נַפְלִים with הַגִּבּוֹרִים.⁴⁶ In that case, the *Nephilim*, interpreted as giants, were the offspring of the intercourse between the daughters of men and the sons of God. Also according to the *Book of Jubilees*, the giants were the offspring of the intercourse between the daughters of men and the angels of God (cf. 5:1: "... They gave birth to children for them, and they were giants"). These giants were not appreciated. They were not mighty men, but negative figures that brought harm to people.⁴⁷ In *1En* 6-11, we find the same negative interpretation of the giants, which means that 5:1 possibly reflects a traditional view of the passage.

Jub 5:8 is a rendering of Gen 6:3, which is taken out of its immediate context. As far as form and content are concerned, the context of Gen 6:3 is odd. It falls outside the scope of the narrative in Gen 6:1-2, 4. Gen 6:4 continues Gen 6:2. The statement by God in Gen 6:3 is a reflection on what He has decided. The statement consists of a negative decree (viz., "my spirit shall not ... forever") and a positive one ("His days

44 The interpretation "giants" for נַפְלִים is common in the majority of the ancient versions (LXX, Theodotion, Vulgate, Samaritan Targum, Targum Onqelos, Targum Neofiti). Cf. Salvesen, Symmachus 33. For the "sons of Anak," see also Num 13:22, 28; Deut 1:28; 2:10, 11, 21; 9:1; Josh 11:21, 22; 14:12, 15; 15:13, 14; 21:11; Judg 1:20.

45 See e.g., Bartelmus, Heroentum 156-159.

46 See LXX, Symmachus, Targum Onqelos, Targum Neofiti, the Samaritan Targum, and the Peshitta.

47 See also *Jub* 7:21-25.

shall be a hundred and twenty years"). The judgement of God concerns people. This does not fit well in the context, since the "sons of God" are responsible for that which happened in Gen 6:1-2, 4. However, in the biblical text, nothing is said about their punishment nor about the guilt of people. The phrase "his days shall be a hundred and twenty years" has always been regarded as referring either to the maximum lifetime among mankind⁴⁸ or to the natural life of the generation before the flood.⁴⁹

With regard to this problem, it is striking to see that in the text of *Jubilees* the rewriting of Gen 6:3 is dislocated and joined to the judgement on the giants. As far as I can see, this is a reflection of the problem that nothing is said in the biblical text about the punishment of the sons of God or about the guilt of people. By not referring the statement of Gen 6:3 to man in general, but to a specific kind of people, viz. the mortal offspring of the sons of God and the daughters of man, the judgement is more appropriate. Moreover, this means that the author of *Jubilees* does not interpret the "hundred and twenty years" as the maximum lifespan of mankind in general, but as the lifespan of the generation before the flood, meaning the giants. Besides, the span of one hundred and twenty years does not fit in the context of Genesis, since the lifetime of the patriarchs exceeds that. By transposing the text and referring it to the generation before the flood, viz., the giants, the author of *Jubilees* has solved this problem.⁵⁰ The indication of time in 5:1c ("in a certain [year] of this jubilee") means the first year of the twenty-fifth jubilee,⁵¹ indicating that the marriages between the angels and the women took place in *a.m.* 1177. The giants were born in the same year or the next one. This would mean that all the giants would have perished by *a.m.* 1297 or 1298, at least ten years before the flood came. Thus the flood was not a punishment for the giants (or for the angels). This interpretation is supported by the rest of the text (esp. 5:8-9) where the punishment for the giants is described.

48 Westermann, Genesis 507.

49 E.g., LXX Gen 6:3 ("My spirit shall not abide in *those* men for ever"), and the Targums (e.g. Targum Onkelos: "And the Lord said: This wicked generation shall not endure before me forever, because they are flesh, and their deeds are evil; let an extension be granted to them for 120 years, (to see) if they will repent").

50 In the text of *1En* 10:9-10, it is stated that the giants hope to live an eternal life, or at least they hope to live five hundred years. By saying that their days shall be a hundred and twenty years, the author of *Jubilees* interprets the dislocated Gen 6:3 as a *punishment* against them.

51 Berger, Buch 349; VanderKam, Angel Story 161. Cf. also VanderKam, Angel Story 158, where he makes the point that the angels came in the last jubilee in the first half of the history.

The text of Gen 6:1-4 is altered and rewritten as a story of the imprisonment of the watchers and the destruction of their children. It is also combined with elements of the flood narrative, which portray the consequences of lawlessness.⁵²

The fact that the story of the sons of God precedes the story of the flood makes it immediately easy for any reader to interrelate both stories. In the *biblical* allusions to the story of the flood,⁵³ however, there is no connection between the story of the flood and the story of the watchers, but in *post-biblical* early Jewish literature, it occurs frequently. I would point to the *Damascus Document* (2:14-21), which was written not much later than the *Book of Jubilees*, in which both judgements stand side by side, comparable with *Jub* 5:1-19.⁵⁴ In other texts, Noah on the one hand, and the sons of God, called the (fallen) angels or the watchers, on the other, are put into sharp contrast. In the anticipation of the flood in 4:22-24 and in the reference back to the flood in 7:20-25, the flood is seen as the judgement of God on the behaviour of the sons of God, called the watchers. In other early Jewish writings, there is also the view that the flood is a punishment for the transgression of the watchers, for example, the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (second century B.C.E.).⁵⁵

Considering the fact that the connection of the story of the flood with the story of the watchers is also found elsewhere in early Jewish literature, the connection in 5:1-19 might be a traditional one. In this respect, one can also point to the fact that the passage 5:4-12, which mentions the judgements on men, angels and giants, runs very much parallel to *1En* 10:1-17. The pronouncement of the flood and the rescue of Noah are found in both texts, followed by the judgement against the angels, the judgement against the giants, then the judgement against

52 Cf. Davenport, *Eschatology* 47.

53 Explicit references to the story of the flood can be found in Isa 54:9-10 and Ez 14:12-23 (esp. v. 14, 20). Allusions to the flood can be found in Ps 29:10 and Job 22:15-20. The motif of the flood can possibly be found in Isa 24:1, 4-5, 18; 26:20-21; Nah 1:8; Ps 18:16; 65:5-8; 69:1; 89:10; 93:3; Dan 9:26. Cf. Lewis, *Study* 7-9.

54 Cf. also the *Wisdom of Solomon* 14:6; 2 Peter 2:4-8 (which must be dated in the 2nd century C.E.) reads: "For if God did not spare the angels when they sinned, but cast them into hell and committed them to pits of nether gloom to be kept until the judgement; if he did not spare the ancient world, but preserved Noah, a herald of righteousness, with seven other persons, when he brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly".

55 3 *Macc* 2:4 (1st century B.C.E.) has the following: "You [God] have destroyed men for their wicked deeds in the past, among them giants relying on their own strength and self-confidence, upon whom you brought an immeasurable flood of water". Cf. also Luke 17:26-27 ("As it was in the days of Noah, so will it be in the days of the son of man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day when Noah entered the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all").

the angels again and finally the new nature.⁵⁶ It is especially striking that the doubling of the judgement against the angels runs parallel with the judgement against Asasel followed by the judgement against Shemihazah. Despite the parallel structure of the content of both texts, there are many differences in the wording. The writer of *1En* 6-11 and the writer of 5:4-12 have possibly taken material from the same tradition, but each has reconstructed it in his own way.⁵⁷

Inheritance of the Watchers after the Flood, Especially the Demons

The inheritance of the watchers remains after the flood as well. In 8:1-4, Kainan, the post-diluvian patriarch, discovers a piece of instruction from the watchers concerning the sun, the moon, and the stars. It is evaluated very negatively in that context. Obviously, the writer of *Jubilees* felt the need to see both good and bad in the behaviour of the watchers. They originally came with good intentions. The realm of heaven is thus safeguarded from any association with evil and God is not its immediate source. Only when they arrive on earth do the problems begin. This means that in his eyes, human beings (the women at least) have some part in originating sin.⁵⁸

There are also demonic spirits, who enter the stage after the flood. These beings are known as "demons" (1:11c; 7:27; 10:1, 2; 22:17), but also as "spirits" (10:3, 5, 8, 11, 13; 11:4, 5; 12:20; 15:31, 32; 19:28).⁵⁹ Sometimes an adjective is used to characterise these beings: "impure demons" (10:1); "wicked/evil spirits" (10:3, 13; 12:20). See also the description "the evil ones who were savage" (10:11) and "the spirits of the savage ones" (11:4). *Jubilees* does not speak about a creation of demons, nor about their birth. However, they are mentioned as the emanations

56 In both texts, the new nature is probably not to be taken eschatologically, but as referring to the great renewal after the Flood. VanderKam, *Angel Story* 161-163; cf. Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen* 351; Davenport, *Eschatology* 47. This interpretation is in contrast with Charles, *Book* 44-45 n., who renders 5:10-12 in the future sense, as referring to the final judgement.

57 This tradition is possibly the one identified by some as the so-called "Book of Noah." See García Martínez, *Qumran* 24-44. Lewis, *Study*, 14-15, is very sceptical about the existence of a lost book of Noah. For an interpretation of 5:17-18, see VanderKam, *Angel Story* 163-164.

58 In the *Testament of Reuben* 5, one can see a shift of the blame from angels to the woman. VanderKam, *Enoch. A Man* 120, writes that the writer of *Jubilees* "could not downplay the importance of the Fall in Gen 3."

59 In 49:2 the term "powers" occurs.

from the angels themselves (10:5: "You know how your watchers, the father of these spirits, have acted during my lifetime"). The demons remained alive after the watchers were imprisoned and the giants died. The demons are commanded by a leader, Prince (of) Mastema (10:8; 11:5; 19:28; 49:2; cf. 11:11; 17:16; 18:9, 12; 48:2, 3-4, 9, 12-18). Mastema was active in six events: in the days of Noah's sons, when Mastema asks God not to destroy all the evil spirits who bother Noah's sons, but to leave one tenth under his command (10:8-9); at the time of Ur son of Kesed (11:5-6); in the days of Terah (11:10-12); and the sacrifice of Isaac (17:16). The last two episodes were in the days of Moses: the first was his struggle with Moses on his way to Egypt, and the second (and most detailed) is his help to the Egyptians and their magicians (48:9-18) during the Exodus.⁶⁰ This leader is possibly not a demon himself. He seems to be a bad angel. It is impossible, however, that he be one of the watchers, since they are tied up in the depths of the earth by the good angels, waiting their judgment (5:6-11). The context of 10:11 implies that Mastema is identified with satan. The demons do everything Mastema tells them, so that he is able to exercise the authority of his will among mankind to punish them for their evil (cf. 10:8).⁶¹

The demons are involved in several activities. They are the cause of evil in human society and that what they bring about is comparable to the situation before the flood. They rule over people (10:3; 15:31; 19:28) and exercise power on earth before satan (10:11). They are active in leading people astray (7:27; 15:31; 19:28). They mislead them (10:1, 8; 11:2; 12:20), make them act foolishly (10:1) and let them commit sins, impurities, and transgressions (11:4, 5). They shed human blood on the earth (7:27; 11:5), a crime connected to the drinking of blood (7:28-33; 11:2-5). Demons prevent people from following God (12:20; 15:31; 19:28). They help with the making of statues and images of idols (11:4). Although demons are connected to many kinds of sins, blood-guilt and idolatry are predominant. Besides influencing the people, they sometimes have a destructive power themselves. The demons begin to destroy Noah's children, to blind and kill them (10:1-2). They are meant for destruction (10:8). In 49:2 demons seem to assist Mastema in killing all the first-born of Egypt.

Jubilees speaks about reducing the influence of demons. When Noah's sons complain about the attacks of the demons on their children (10:2), God grants Noah's intercession by commanding the good angels to bind all demons (10:7). Mastema protests against this plan:

60 Cf. Eshel, Mastema 362-363.

61 Alexander, Demonology 341.

"Lord, creator, leave some of them for me; let them listen to me and do everything that I tell them, because if none of them is left for me I shall not be able to exercise the authority of my will among mankind. For they are meant for the purpose of destruction and misleading before my punishment because the evil of mankind is great" (10:8:).

God grants Mastema's protest, and leaves ten percent of the evil spirits, while ninety percent descend to the place of judgment (10:9, 11). This implies that Mastema has a function in the divine order.⁶² God seems to approve of his appearance. Evil people are handed over to the authority of Mastema for punishment by him, and the demons help him with the execution of this task. Further influence of the demons is reduced, because the angel of the presence teaches Noah about the remedies for the afflictions caused by the demons:

"He told one of us that we should teach Noah all their remedies because he knew that they would neither conduct themselves properly nor fight fairly ... We told Noah all the remedies for their diseases with their deceptions so that he could cure them by means of the earth's plants" (10:10, 12:).

This means that "the evil spirits were prohibited from pursuing Noah's children" (10:13). Israel belongs directly to God and is protected by him. The demons have no influence on the chosen people. In contrast, they are assigned to the nations:

"But he chose Israel to be his people. He sanctified them and gathered them from all mankind. For there are many nations and many peoples and all belong to him. He made spirits rule over all in order to lead them astray from following him. But over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler. He will guard them and require them for himself from his angels, his spirits, and everyone, and all his powers so that he may guard them and bless them and so that they may be his and he be theirs for now and forever" (15:30-32:).

The nations worship demons (22:16-17; cf. 1:11). Nevertheless, the spirits seem to be a (continual) threat for the chosen people (19:28: "May the spirits of Mastema not rule over you and your descendants to remove you from following the Lord who is your God for now and forever").

In the Bible, there is no demonology. In Genesis, one cannot read anything about evil spirits. In this aspect, *Jubilees* seems to be influenced by other sources. The teaching about the demons seems to be part of the wider influence of material originating from the Enochic traditions.⁶³ One can point to the influence of *1En* (*Book of Watchers*). In the *Book of Watchers* the angels descended from heaven, married

62 Cf. Alexander, *Demonology* 342.

63 See note 2.

women, and sinned with them. Their children were giants. These giants behaved in an unlawful way:

“They were devouring the labour of all sons of men, and men were not able to supply them. And the giants began to kill men and to devour them. And they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish, and to devour one another’s flesh. And they drank the blood” (1En 7:3-5).⁶⁴

They would have ruined mankind, but the people brought accusations against the lawless ones (1En 7:6), and their cry went up to heaven (1En 8:4). Thereupon God sent Gabriel to destroy the sons of the watchers from among the sons of men (1En 10:9). However, this is not the end of the giants. In 1En 15:8-16:1 it is described how the evil spirits came out of their carcasses and how they were threatening humanity: they do violence, desolate, attack and wrestle and hurl upon the earth.⁶⁵ According to Alexander, the author(s) of this myth tried to bring order into the demonic realm.⁶⁶ They assert that all demons belong to only one species of being. All are spirits of the giants. Moreover, the demons belong to an intermediate category of being that is partly angelic and partly human. The giants consisted of two elements, a mortal body and an immortal spirit. Their mortal bodies were destroyed, but their immortal spirits were not, and these have continued to inhabit the earth and bring sorrow to people. Since the demons are part human in origin, they have affinity with human beings, and can thus infiltrate the human body. There is a fixed number of demons, equivalent to the number of the dead giants. They cannot procreate. According to 1En 6:6 two hundred watchers descended to earth. This would also mean that the number of demons is limited.

Jubilees shares the fundamental pattern of the *Book of Watchers*: the descending angels, their marriages to the women, their gigantic offspring, and the violence of the giants. As far as demons are concerned, *Jubilees* does not say that they derive from the carcasses of the giants but that they are the emanations of angels themselves (10:5). *Jubilees* seems to be not entirely consistent, since it also knows of the giants as the sons of the watchers (5:1, 6-10).⁶⁷ According to VanderKam, “the fathers of these spirits” perhaps means that the watchers were their

64 Translation taken from Nickelsburg / VanderKam, *Enoch*.

65 VanderKam, *Demons* 348-350; Nickelsburg, *Enoch* 1 267-275.

66 For the following see Alexander, *Demonology* 338-341.

67 Possibly, *Jubilees* preserves several older traditions about the watchers. See, e.g., Segal, *Book* 103-143.

ancestors.⁶⁸ Another deviation from its source text is that the demons are put under the authority of Mastema. Why did the author of *Jubilees* think it appropriate to incorporate the myth of the demons in his re-writing of Genesis? The evil spirits play a part in the rewritten narrative of the period between the flood and the story of Abram. They belong therefore primarily to the period of Noah. The shedding and consumption of blood is an important characteristic of the demons in *Jubilees*. The shedding and eating of blood is an important theme in Gen 9:1-7. Moreover, in this period, the earth is repopulated after the flood (Gen 10) and divided among the three sons of Noah.⁶⁹ Different family lines emerge in different nations.⁷⁰ Tensions between the different nations announce themselves, for example, the curse of Canaan (Gen 9:25-27). In sum, *Jubilees* seems to take up several elements of Genesis 9-10 and relate them to the demons. Bloodshed and eating of blood is caused by the demons, the continuation of the line of Shem is threatened by the demons, whereas the development of the nations is under the demons' control.⁷¹

The incorporation of the demons shows that the author of *Jubilees* brought the passages on the division of the earth and the separation of the nations from the chosen people into association with other biblical passages, especially Deut 32:8-9 (cf. Sir 17:17, and Ps 106:34-39).⁷²

The song of Moses (Deut 32) refers to an assembly of gods (cf. Ps 82) in which, according to the reading of 4QDeut,^j the Most High (Elyon) fixed the boundaries of the people "according to the number of the sons of God" (Deut 32:8). In this context, each nation of earth is entrusted to one of God's sons, whereas YHWH keeps Israel for himself (Deut 32:9: "For the YHWH's portion is his people, Jacob his allotted heritage"). Some Greek manuscripts also read υἱῶν θεοῦ ("the sons of God"), whereas many other Greek manuscripts read ἀγγέλων θεοῦ ("the angels of God"). The MT reading is "the sons of Israel." The reading "the sons of God" is probably the oldest reading.⁷³ The massoretic tradition experienced some inconvenience with this polytheistic reading

68 VanderKam, Demons 549. He points also to the opinion of others that *Jubilees* here preserves an earlier haggadic tradition according to which the demons were born from the union of women and angels. See also Segal, Book 110-111.

69 Keel, Orte I 191; Reventlow, Völkertafel 2112-2115; Scott, Paul 6-8. Cf. Alexander, Geography 980; Hölscher, Erdkarten 45-46.

70 Cf. Skinner, Commentary 188; Wenham, Genesis 213-227; Westermann, Genesis 665-671. Cf. Alexander, Geography 985.

71 Cf. VanderKam, Demons 351.

72 Cf. VanderKam, Demons 351-354.

73 Meyer, Bedeutung 197-209; Loretz, Vorgeschichte 355-357; McCarthy, Tiqqune Sopherim 211-214; Van der Kooij, Ending 93-94; Sanders, Provenance 24-25, 156-158.

and therefore adapted the text with a slight alteration. One could argue that Deut 32:8-9 refers back to the process of separating the nations described in Gen 10 (cf. 10:5, 10-12, 19-20, 30-31, 32).⁷⁴ Although each nation is entrusted to one of God's sons and not to a demon, Deut 32:16-17 brings demons in relation to foreign gods.⁷⁵ Also in Ps 106:34-39 a connection is made between the nations and the demons. I refer especially to Ps 106:36-37 in which the idols of the nations are paralleled with the demons: "They served their idols, which became a snare to them. They sacrificed their sons and their daughters to the demons."⁷⁶ Idolatry is connected with impurity and with polluting the land with blood (Ps 106:38-39). *Jubilees* also put these aspects in relation to the demons.

Conclusion

Angels and demonic beings play an important part in the book of *Jubilees*. To a certain extent the author follows the description of angels in the Bible, but he goes far beyond the biblical books of Genesis and Exodus. The influence of other biblical and non-biblical sources and traditions, particularly the *Book of Watchers* (1En 6-16), is evident in his elaborate angelology and demonology, although the author is able to put his own stamp on what he has taken over.

As far as the correspondence between *Jubilees* and Genesis is concerned, one can point to the description of the angel of the presence that fits in with the description in Exodus of the angel who accompanied the Israelites on their journey in the wilderness. In addition, one can point to the fact that the author of *Jubilees* is interpreting the biblical text. *Jub.* 5:1-9 interprets Gen 6:1-4 in that the mighty man and giants (the offspring of the angels) are identified and the judgement is related to the giants. In this interpretation the biblical text of Gen 6:1-4 is altered and rewritten as a story of the imprisonment of the watchers and the destruction of their children, and it is combined with elements of the flood narrative. This reflects a certain traditional explanation of the biblical text as well, and possibly betrays the influence of the Enochic tradition. Moreover, the author is able to speak about the creation of

74 Cf. VanderKam, *Demons* 352.

75 Deut 32:17: "They sacrificed to demons which were no gods, to gods they had never known, to new gods that had come in of late, whom your fathers had never dreaded."

76 See also Ps 96:4-5 where God and the idols are put in contrast. Here, LXX Ps 95:5 reads "demons" where MT reads "idols."

the angels by way of an exegesis of Gen 1:1-5, in which the items mentioned in Gen 1:2 are also objects of creation, and in which one of the terms used, i.e. Elohim, is translated as "angels."

There is no direct clue in the biblical text to explain the occurrence of demons in the book of *Jubilees*. We should therefore attribute their presence to the incorporation of other sources and traditions, especially *1En* 15-16. Nevertheless, it is possible that the mention of bloodshed in Gen 9:1-9, and the repopulation of the earth after the flood in Gen 10 in relation to a traditional exegesis of both Deut 32:8 and Ps 106:34-39 caused the incorporation of the demons in the book of *Jubilees*.

Finally, the aim to anchor Israel and its institutions in the order of the creation led to the correlation between cultic practice in heaven and on earth. The angels keep the laws that are put in relation to the covenant between Israel and God.

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